

INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY

AND THE

PROSPERITY OF THE WEST INDIA PLANTERS

MUTUALLY SECURED BY THE IMMEDIATE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY;

BEING

A REVIEW

OF THE

REPORT OF A SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON

The State of the West India Colonies,

Ordered to be Printed, April 13, 1834.

BY JAMES CROPPER.

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REVIEW, &c.

THE real cause of the depression and distress of the West India planters may be so clearly inferred from the concluding remarks in the Report, of which the following pages are a review, that we may very properly commence with an extract from it. The Committee say :—

“In concluding their consideration of the causes of the depressed state of the West India Colonies, your Committee has not forgotten that that depressed state has existed in former times, and at periods anterior to the abolition of the slave trade. To one of these periods their attention has been specially called, by the reference of the report of the Committee of 1807, whence it appears that during the late war, and while still supplied with slaves from Africa, *the planters complained of inadequate returns, and of unequal competition in Foreign markets.* These results were then ascribed to the circumstances of the war, which has long ceased, and were necessarily independent of the causes now alleged. Your Committee are well aware that this similarity of complaint, and discrepancy of assigned reasons, has occasioned some *distrust of the accuracy of those which are now put forward.*

“But it appears to your Committee that the original cause of depression was, and is, the same at both periods, and the difference is in the circumstance of aggravation. That cause is in this, as in many other cases, over-production ; but *in this case, as in no others* of which your Committee are aware, *entirely remediless on the part of the producer.*

“The West India Colonist not only feels, with any other proprietor of land, the difficulty of altering the application of his capital ; he not only feels, in a greater degree than proprietors in general, the difficulty of changing the appropriation of his soil ; *he is subject to a burden peculiar to himself, that of maintaining, be his profits what they may, the whole body of labourers, and of their families, existing upon his land.* He is

compelled, too, by a law, of which public considerations forbid the repeal, to maintain them in industrious employment, and is thus under the necessity of producing and re-producing the very article of which the superabundance depresses him."

Distrust of the accuracy of the reason assigned for the distress of the Colonies is, indeed, very natural, under the preceding circumstances. But it is strange that a committee of the House of Commons should be satisfied to leave this investigation (for which they were specially appointed) in a state of distrust, where they had such abundant means for arriving at certainty. We must, however, endeavour to supply this extraordinary deficiency on their part, and we trust that we shall be able to prove,

1st. That the slave-trading of the Brazilians gives them no advantage over the British Colonies; but, on the contrary, that the great loss which they sustain by it, is one chief means of enabling the British Colonies, in any degree, to compete with them.

2d. That the mortgage system entails such burdens, and is attended by such disadvantages, as are sufficient to ruin any business.

3d. That to maintain slavery, even without any profit, entails an enormous burden on this country, and that it cannot be much longer maintained without a prodigious increase of that burden.

4th. That there is, therefore, no possible remedy but the immediate extinction of slavery.

5th. That slavery may be abolished with immediate advantage to all parties.

The Committee attribute the distress to over-production. They say, "But in this case, *as in no others*, ENTIRELY REMEDILESS ON THE PART OF THE PLANTERS." To what other cause can this peculiarity so "entirely remediless on the part of the planters" be attributed, but to the slavery in which their labourers are held? And what is so likely to remedy this distress as its entire extinction?

The West Indians have been constant and zealous advocates for the abolition of the foreign slave trade, considering it the cause of their depression; and hence most of the witnesses adduce the continuance of it as a chief cause of their

distress. So unanimous are they on this subject, that even the witness from Barbadoes, J. Pollard Mayers,* attributes the distress in that Colony to a regular and cheap supply of labour, afforded by the slave trade to their Brazilian rivals. This is strange on the part of a witness from a colony where Creole slaves (allowed to be superior to newly imported Africans†) are to be had at little more than half price.‡ Indeed, with the exception of two of the Colonies, slaves may be purchased at a lower price in all of them than they sell for in the Brazils and Cuba.§

Although it seems so derogatory to the Divine goodness, so contrary to all his laws, that a system of such unparalleled wickedness, as the slave trade, should ever be advantageous, yet as statements so absurd have been listened to, and published by a British House of Commons, it is fit they should be examined and replied to.

Most of the witnesses say that the newly imported Africans, being chiefly men, form gangs more effective than a Creole population would make, though inured to labour, and more intelligent and athletic. ||

* See evidence, Appendix to Report, No. 1429.

† See No. 1276, 2459, 2467.

‡ Average prices paid for manumissions of slaves in the different Colonies from 1819 to 1825.—See *Anti-slavery Reporter*, vol. 2, No. 26, page 17.

	£	s.	d.
Bahamas.....	21	16	0
Barbadoes	28	0	0
Berbice.....	90	0	0
Demerara	86	0	0
Dominica	30	0	0
Grenada	30	16	0
Jamaica	45	12	0
Nevis	35	0	0
St. Kitt's	24	0	0
St. Vincent's	16	15	0
Tortola	17	10	0
	11)425	14	0
Average	£38	14	0

§ See ditto, No. 2567... £50 to £55
 2812..... £50
 182 in Cuba, 220 to 250 dollars, that is... £48 to £55
 Mandingoes 300 dollars, or £65

|| See Nos. 2459 and 2462.

This can easily be ascertained by the productions of our West India Colonies during the continuance of the slave trade, and at the present time. So far from any appearance of greater efficiency of the gangs during the slave trade, it appears, on the contrary, that, from 1791 to 1795, the produce of the West India Colonies was only 4½ cwt. per slave, whilst at the present (under all the disadvantages of which they complain) the produce is nearly 6 cwt. per slave, proving this allegation to be very strikingly contrary to the fact, and setting that point completely at rest. It will probably be said, that since the first period we have added our most fertile colonies, Demerara, Berbice, and Trinidad. This is very true, but these colonies contain only about one sixth-part of the slave population, and the old colonies are become more exhausted by the long cultivation of the cane. But of this more hereafter; it is enough to show, that in that respect the present period has no advantage over 1791 to 1795.*

The cost of producing sugar in the British Colonies is stated to be 15s. 10d. per cwt.; the expense of bringing it to market 8s. 6d., lately affording only 6d. per cwt. for interest of capital, &c., but now a loss of 6d. per cwt.† Where is the proof that the Brazilians do actually raise sugar cheaper? I. B. Boothby states, No. 2105, that two estates, managed under trust, on which he is a creditor, have given nothing for the last two years beyond the expense of cultivation, though they are very fine estates.‡ G. T. Sealy says that the present

* The importation of sugar from the British West India Colonies—(*See Report of the State of the West India Colonies ordered to be printed 24th July, 1807.*) in 1791 to 1795 average 2,021,325. The slave population of the British Colonies in 1791, was, according to Brian Edwards:

Jamaica.....	250,000	Antigua.....	37,808
Barbadoes.....	62,115	Montserrat.....	10,000
Grenada.....	23,926	Nevis.....	8,420
St. Vincent.....	11,853	St. Kitt's.....	20,435
Dominica.....	14,967	Virgin Island.....	9,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	362,861		85,663
			<hr/>
			362,861
			<hr/>
			448,524

making the produce of sugar, 4½ cwt. per slave.—The average produce of the years 1827 to 1831 was 4,006,835, (the slave population being 678,527, *See Anti-slavery Reporter*, No. 100, page 259,) being 5½ cwt. per slave.)—The growth of coffee has also been doubled in that period; but this has been counterbalanced by a great reduction in the growth of cotton.

† See A. McDonnell's evidence, Nos. 9 and 12.

‡ See No. 2213.

prices do not remunerate the planter.* The Brazilian and British planters are, therefore, in just the same situation, neither of them obtaining any profit.

It has already been proved that newly-imported Africans, instead of being more effective, and producing more sugar per slave, do actually produce less, as might naturally be expected from persons not inured to labour, and who are actually dying off at the rate of 6 or 8 or 10 per cent. per annum,† from the effect of that labour. It next remains to be proved that these labourers are obtained, not at a less, but at a much greater expense.

We will take one of the lowest estimates of decrease in the slave population of the Brazils and Cuba, say 6 per cent. per annum, which, as compared with the increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the United States, makes together $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Now, if the average production of our most fertile Colonies, Demerara, Trinidad, Grenada, and St. Vincent's, is, as stated by James M'Queen, $11\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. per slave; and, according to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*. No. 100, page 263, rather more than 12 cwt. per slave, the average cost of a slave in the Brazils being at least £50;‡ $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on that sum is 85s., or 7s. 1d. per cwt. on 12 cwt. of sugar: or, if compared with the British system, in which there is a loss of life of nearly 1 per cent.,§ there would be a difference in its favour of 5 per cent., which on £50 is 50s., or 4s. 2d. per cwt. on 12 cwt. of sugar.

Hence it appears, that not only are the newly-imported slaves less effective than Creoles, but this system of importation is dearer by 7s. 1d. per cwt. than the American, and 4s. 2d. per cwt. than that of the British Colonies. This, of itself, might be a full answer to the ridiculous statement of the cost of raising children;|| but it is deserving of attention as showing the miserable delusions to which men are liable, when they will not open their eyes to obvious truths; when

* See No. 2542.

† See A. M'Donnell's evidence, No. 1262, and Evanson Alchorne's estimate, page 273.

‡ See J. B. Boothby, evidence 2163, 2567; A. M'Donnell, 182; Joseph Marryat, 1236; G. T. Sealy, 2567 to 2569; Evanson Alchome, page 273.

§ See T. F. Buxton's statement, *Anti-slavery Reporter*, No. 97.

|| See John Innis's evidence, page 71 and 72, where the cost of raising a child to fourteen years is said to be £226 14s. 10d.

they are not willing to see that slavery is the cause of all their distresses, and that immediate extinction is the only remedy. In this statement it is assumed that a mother's labour, whilst occupied in the care of her child, is worth £25 per annum, though her employment at other times is that of producing sugar, which sell for a loss of 6d. per cwt. If a clear profit of 40s. per cwt., instead of 6d. loss, were made upon sugar, her labour might be worth £25 per annum. Provisions, clothing, and medical attendance, are charged in the second year at the rate of about £7 each;* clothing and herrings cost 32s. each per annum on the average, and could not be more than 16s. per annum for children; now if, besides herrings and clothing, one half day per week is sufficient to provide food for a slave and his family, and if we take the food according to this estimate to be worth £6 for a child, it must surely be worth £12 for a grown man, making £18 per annum, if he had no other than himself and one child to provide for; the value of his labour, for one twelfth part of his time, would be worth £18, or the whole £216 per annum, and yet the slaves who could make such an enormous sum by raising provisions, are stupidly kept to the cultivation of sugar, by which nothing is made. Labour in the West Indies is of as little value as it can be any where; if the planters, therefore, know no cheaper mode of raising children to the age of fourteen, than at the cost of £226 14s. 10d. each, James M'Queen could enlighten them on the subject. From him we learn that the poor weavers in Scotland only get 3s. 6d. to 5s. per week, and, at this rate, the whole wages of a grown man for fourteen years will be only £182. What could such a man afford to spend on each of his children? Poor as their wages are, they maintain themselves at eight years of age, and will nearly have reimbursed their parents at fourteen.† The children in the Colo-

* Supplies to an estate of 345 slaves.—See *Anti-slavery Reporter*, No. 97 note, page 193. Clothing and medicines cost in England £238. The only food supplied was herrings, which cost £314, making together 32s. each.

† In some of the hand-loom weaving districts in Lancashire parish relief is not allowed where the earnings of the family are 1s. to 1s. 6d. each.

The father earns about	5	6	per week.
A child at eight to ten	1	2	..
Ditto, ten to twelve	2	10	..
Ditto, twelve to fourteen	3	10	..

nies must, at least, do as much, for in the report of the Bishop of Jamaica, the Golden Grove Estate is mentioned as an instance of good management. There are here four different gangs; 1st, men and women; 2nd, boys and girls; 3rd, children; 4th, younger children, just old enough to be taken from the nursery. The first two are under drivers, and the last two under driveresses. Surely where provisions are so easily raised, and where the allowance for food and clothing beyond the produce of their own grounds does not exceed 16s. each, these children must have done more than repay their owner, before they reach the age of fourteen.

Though we trust the whole foundation of the assertion, that newly imported Africans are more effective labourers, and that it is cheaper to import than to raise children, has been completely destroyed, and all the superstructure built upon it crumbled to atoms, yet it may be well to pursue a little further the comparison of the Brazilian and British systems. Both are in very nearly the same situation, their sugars yielding no returns but just about paying all expenses, though their systems are in many respects so widely different.

If we say nothing of the *higher price, the inferior quality of the slaves, and the less sugar* produced by the imported Africans, (all of which have been fully proved,) it will have been shown that in the destruction of life, and the expense of replacing it, the Brazilians suffer a disadvantage of 7s. 1d. per cwt. in comparison with the Americans, and of 4s. 2d. as compared with the British Colonies. They get their supplies chiefly from this country, but these are subject to a high duty on importation and their sugars also pay a higher duty on exportation. This import duty, at 20 per cent. may be estimated to add about 1s. per cwt.* to the cost of the sugar, and the duty on export being 10 per cent. instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. may add 9d. more.

* See I. B. Boothby, evidence No. 2109 and 2113.

The European supplies to an estate producing 3461 cwt. of sugar (see Report of the State of the West India Colonies, ordered to be printed July 1807, page 24) averages £1588

But of this the lumber which the Brazilians do not }
import amounts to } 680

£908

£908 at 20 per cent. is £181 12s., or rather more than 1s. per cwt. on the sugar

The next advantage which the British planter enjoys over the Brazilian is the bounty on the exportation of refined sugar. It is impossible *exactly* to ascertain what the country is made to pay, or what the planters receive from it. This manufacture differs from all others. Sugar is not refined in a way to suit the consumers, but to obtain the bounty; it is not done in the best, but in the worst way, for it is evident that if the treacle be taken out in this country, it will only sell for about 25s. per cwt. So much of the treacle as can be left in this inferior refined sugar will, in the first place, obtain the bounty of 36s. 10d. per cwt.; and when taken out on the Continent by a second process of refining, will also sell for the market price there, which together will be double what would have been obtained for it if the process had been perfected in this country.

The bounty on refined sugar is paid on a computation that 112lbs. of sugar yields 61lbs. refined, 18lbs. of bastards, (on which there would be a drawback of 24s.,) and 28lbs. treacle—

61lbs refined.....	} 20s. 1d.
drawback..36s. 10d.	
18lbs. bastards	3s. 10d.
	<hr/>
	23s. 11d.

The duty on the raw sugar being..24s. 0d.

Besides this drawback, the treacle is brought into the home market without payment of any duty, the advantage being on 28lbs. at 9s. per cwt. 2s. 3d.; and this would be the whole of the bounty on 1 cwt. of raw sugar, if no more than 61lbs was produced.

The West India merchants say, (in a statement in which they oppose the refining of Brazil sugar under this drawback system,) “that 78lbs. of refined sugar was obtained from 112lbs. of raw sugar, by the vacuum pan process, such as sold at 84s. per cwt. in the home market, but that it required 143lbs of British muscovado to produce 78lbs. of a similar superior quality;” that is to say, 112 lbs. to produce 61lbs. A low description of refined sugar, made from British muscovado entitled to the full drawback, might at the same time be purchased at 63s. per cwt. Now, it must be evident, that if the refiner can get 61lbs. of superior refined, worth 84s. he

can get a greater quantity of the low description, worth only 63s. or he would not make it. If 72lbs. of this low kind is obtained instead of 61lbs. it will add nearly 2s. 9d. to the bounty, or make it in the whole 5s., at which we believe it is underrated; for on inquiry into the relative price of Brazil and British plantation sugar, we were shown one sample of Brazil which would have sold 5s., and another 10s. per cwt. higher, if it had been under similar circumstances to British plantation; and therefore in rating the bounty at 5s. per cwt., we are persuaded it is below the truth. But if the bounty raises the price to the British consumer 5s., it is far from being so much clear gain to the planter; for in order to obtain this bounty, and also in consequence of his mortgage, he is obliged to send his sugar to the British market, and to forego the advantage of a sale in the Colony, or a shipment to markets which but for this bounty, might be more advantageous; he may also be induced by the terms of his mortgage, or the prospect of this bounty, to continue the growth of sugar, when a different culture might be more advantageous to him. (See the evidence of W. R. K. Douglas, No. 667.) Though this bounty costs the country 5s. per cwt., or more than one million per annum, yet the advantage to the planter probably does not exceed one-half that sum.

Charging a duty on a raw material, and allowing a bounty on a manufactured article, will generally occasion great loss to the revenue, and in no case is this more manifest than in this sugar bounty, and which, holding out an inducement to make the worst article instead of the best, we may hope is near its end.

The advantages of the British, over the Brazilian planter, are, as before stated—

	<i>Per cwt.</i>
In the cheaper system of slave labour	4s. 2d.
In the bounty on exportation of refined sugar	2s. 6d.
In the duty on imports and exports	1s. 9d.
Total	8s. 6d.

We come next to the examination of the advantages of the Brazilian planter over the British.

I. B. Boothby (2140 to 2146) states the freight and all

charges, except merchants' commissions, on three parcels of sugar shipped to Liverpool, and two parcels to London, to be—

3s. 6d.	} To Liverpool.
3s. 10d.	
3s. 4d.	
4s. 8d.	} To London.
5s. 3d.	

$\frac{1}{5}$)20s. 6d.
4s. 1½d.

Merchants' commission, not in-
cluded in the above, 2½ per cent. } Os. 6d.
on 20s.

4s. 7½d.

The cost, as before stated by A. McDonnell, of
bringing British plantation to market, is.... 8s. 6d.
Brazilian, as above 4s. 7½d.
Advantage to the Brazilian planter 3s. 10½.

Though ships would prefer a voyage to the West Indies to one to the Brazils, if the freight were the same.—(See evidence, No. 2131.)

This advantage to the Brazilian planter arises from the mortgage system of the British Colonies, the effects of which on the different items shall be examined. That the Brazilian planters reside on their estates, which are not mortgaged, and employ no attorneys, agents, &c. is too notorious to need any proof, or it might be fully* shown from this evidence that they have very seldom any white men between the planter and the slave, and that white agency would be dearer.†

On an estate of 301 negroes in Jamaica, producing 244 hhds. or 3461 cwts. of sugar,‡ there is an account of salaries and commissions, £609 sterling. Nearly the whole of this will be saved by the residence of the planter, in comparison with a case where he is actually maintained as a non-resident; but as the estimates of the cost of cultivation, to which we have referred, do not admit of such maintenance, we will only suppose one half to be saved, say £309, or 1s. 9d. per cwt. on 3461 cwt. of sugar.

* See evidence, 2116, 2118, 2119, 2593, 2181, 2596.

† See evidence, 2597, 2598.

‡ See report, state of West Indian Colonies, ordered to be printed 24th July, 1807—page 24

In the Brazils and Cuba a large proportion of the population are free,* and on that account the wages of labour will be much lower. Instead of importing lumber (see No. 2587,) at a great expense, they are enabled to make the packages for the sugar, of wood of their own growth, and the cotton bags are of their own manufacture: for the same reason also their sugars are clayed, whilst in our Colonies that is not done on account of the high rate of wages. Lumber for the repairs of buildings and casks in this estate costs £657, and on which the freight being at least two-thirds of the price, would be saved, say 2s. 6d. per cwt. on 3461 cwt. of sugar.

The want of free labourers enhances the price of every thing in our Colonies to a great extent. The wages of free labour in Hayti are 1s. to 1s. 3d., being only about one-half the price paid in Jamaica.

Recapitulation of the advantages of the Brazil planter :

Difference of charge in bringing to market	3s. 10½d.
Agency	1 9
Lumber	2 6
	<hr/>
	8 1½
	<hr/>

The residence of the Brazilian planters upon their estates, their freedom from the bondage of the mortgage system, and the cheapness and abundance of free labour, give to them most decided advantages, if these were not counterbalanced by the expense of destroying their labourers, and keeping up their numbers by fresh purchases: if, instead of this vast disadvantage, (which has been shown to increase the cost of their sugar as compared with the British, 4s. 2d. per cwt.,) they had a gain of so much, which from the opinions of most of the witnesses we might be led to suppose, then, indeed, would they have been enjoying a high degree of prosperity, whilst their rivals were suffering severe distress.

We shall now examine more at length the peculiar and aggravated hardships of the British planter, from the bondage in which he is held by his mortgagee. The rate of interest he is made to pay, including commercial advantages given to the mortgagee, must vary in almost every instance, according

* See Admiral Fleming's evidence, p. 29.

to the amount of the loan and other circumstances. A case is mentioned by Andrew Colville, No. 290, in which the consignment of 600 to 700 hhds. of sugar, and a considerable quantity of coffee, was unsuccessfully offered for a loan of £10,000. To say nothing of the coffee, 700 hhds. sugar, 14 cwt. each, would be 9800 cwt., which, at 48s. per cwt., including duty, would amount to £23,520.

Commission, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.....	£588
Brokerage, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	117

705

For 1 per cent. a respectable broker would do the whole business for a planter not under mortgage*	235
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470

Gain by freight, 2s. per cwt.†.....	980
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Effecting insurance, £8000 at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.‡ ..	40
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Guarantee of underwriters, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.§	40
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Discount gained by the mortgagee, besides interest and commissions on supplies which, on 244 hhds. is £1588, or on 700 hhds. £4555 at 5 per cent.¶	227
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Being 3s. 8d. per cwt. on 9800 cwt. of sugar	£1757
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* See No. 19-8.

† John Clint, ship-owner, produced the charter party of a vessel to and from the West Indies, to take a cargo out *freight free* and to take a discount of 30 per cent. off 5s. per cwt. at which the bills of lading were filled up.

1964. James Aikin, a ship owner and ship-broker, would contract to bring home sugar at 3s.

‡ 2777. C. S. Parker, West India merchant, not in the habit, in ordinary cases, of charging freight on coals out, but they have charged freight on coals.

He admits they have charged freight on coals; if this had not been either according to agreement or custom it would have been objected to, unless the planter was completely in the power of the mortgagee.

1949. James Aikin chartered the Zoe in the West Indies at 2s. 9d. per cwt. bills of lading are filled up at 5s. per cwt.

§ Merchants and brokers will effect the insurance without any charge of commission; and as to the charge for guaranteeing underwriters, which is made in some cases, the risk does not deserve 1s. per cent., and we know there are, houses who will undertake it for that charge.

¶ C. S. Parker acknowledges that the merchant gains 5 per cent. when 12 months credit is given, or a discount of 10 per cent. allowed. He is asked

2649. Do you know what is the discount allowed to merchants on supplies, sent out independent of the credit?—I am not aware of any discount independent of the credit.

2650. Do you know the house of William Fosbery and Company, in Liverpool?—I am acquainted with Mr. Fosbery: they have occasionally supplied us with goods.

2651. If they state that West India hoes are from 9s. 6d. to 20s. per dozen with a discount of 15 per cent; cane bills from 11s. to 18s. per dozen, with the same discount hatchets from 11s. 9d. to 17s., with a discount of 10 per cent;

This estimate is more than confirmed by the fact that the charge on West India sugar is higher by 3s. 10½d. than on Brazil sugar, though the insurance to the Brazils is higher, and the ship-owners prefer a West Indian voyage at the same rate. In this instance, if £10,000 had been lent, the mortgagee would have paid, in commercial advantages, 17½ per cent. besides the interest of 6 per cent.; but we may presume this loan was much less than is usually granted. If £20,000 had been lent, the commercial advantages would have been 8¾ per cent.; or, if £25,000, 7 per cent., which, with the

negro knives from 3s. to 6s., with a discount of 15 per cent; negro razors and scissors, penknives, table knives and forks, coopers' and carpenters' tools, and nails, and general ironmongery of every description, at the lowest established prices, according to quality, the above discounts being for six months credit, five per cent. extra being allowed if paid in one month per bill at two months,—from your dealings in those articles, should you suppose that this is a correct statement of the prices at which they would be willing to supply a West India house?—We have ceased to deal with them for some years; our supplies are derived from other houses; the only discount is of the kind I have mentioned, the difference between cash and credit at 10 per cent. interest per annum.

2652. Do you know the house of J. Leishman and Welsh, great copper manufacturers?—I do.

2653. Do you employ them?—We do.

2654. Are you aware of the discount which they allow, or of their credit?—My impression is, that their credits are nine months, or a discount of 7½ per cent.

2655. If you received a note from that house stating that their discount was 10 per cent., with a bill at three months, or six months—and three months credit, you would have no hesitation in dealing with them on those terms?—We certainly should: for I should think it dishonest to take a larger discount than one calculated at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum.

2656. If they were to send in a statement: copper stills with block tin worms, viz. 90 gallons, weighing about 7 cwt., at 1s. 4d. per lb.; 110 gallons weighing about 8 cwt., at 1s. 4d.; 150 gallons, weighing about 11 cwt., at 1s. 4d.; copper teaches, 40 gallons, weighing about 3 cwt. 2 qrs.; 60 gallons, weighing about 4 cwt.; 80 gallons, weighing about 4 cwt. 2 qrs.; 100 gallons, weighing about 5 cwt.; 120 gallons, weighing about 5 cwt. 2 qrs.; 200 gallons, weighing about 6 cwt. 2 qrs.; making a total of 29 cwt. at 17½ per pound, 10 per cent. discount for bill at three months, or six months and three months credit, they are a house of such respectability, you would have no doubt they would perform their contract?—They are a house of the highest respectability.

2758. Some manufacturers, it appears, offer a large discount to a merchant, making, in fact, a larger price; does the merchant charge the real price, or the nominal price, or are two prices known in such cases?—I have heard rumours to that effect in the case I have alluded to.

2759. Do you believe it to be so?—I do believe it has been done in some instances.

2760. Do you mean to say that no such transaction has ever, while you have been a merchant at Liverpool, come within your own knowledge?—I would rather, from motives of delicacy, solely arising from the manner in which the information reached me, decline answering that question.

There appears to be something unaccountable in considering the pocketing of a discount of 15 to 20 per cent. as dishonest, after taking a discount of 30 and even 45 per cent. on the freight. This is, however, enough to prove that the advantage, exclusive of interest and commission, is greatly underrated at 5 per cent.

interest of 6 per cent., makes 13 per cent. James Colquhoun, Colonial Agent, says, (No. 987,) loans could not be procured at the island interest and commercial charges, amounting together from 15 to 20 per cent. James Aikin (No. 1963) calculates the planters must have been paying about 20 per cent. for money borrowed.

This is not the whole disadvantage of the mortgage; for even if the bounty was not allowed in this country, the planter would still be obliged to send his sugar to England, whatever advantages a sale in the West Indies, or a shipment to a continental port, might offer. He is also, in some cases, compelled to manage his estate in a way to give the mortgagee the best commission, though a different course would be for his own interest. W. R. K. Douglas says, (No. 667,) "I consider myself, in the present state of the West India Colonies, that the practice of advancing so largely has been a great detriment; in many respects the planter is in a great measure a nominal person, who has an account in the books of the merchant; advances are made to him, he exercises no control over the detailed management of his property, the merchant is not in a situation to take the minute direction of the person who is put into the management of the estate, and often a great deal of mismanagement arises from that circumstance. I believe the general state of the West Indies would be very much improved if those advances were entirely at an end; and the property, instead of being in a sort of nominal possession of the merchant, with large advances, became his own property; for in that case I believe the management would be probably more minute than it is at present."

Let any man of business read the account of this one branch of the subject, and then let him say, whether this alone is not sufficient to account for all the distress of the planters, and quite enough to ruin any business whatever.

In the course of this inquiry many of the witnesses speak of the exhaustion of the soil by long cultivation;* this is a well-known, and long-admitted fact, and we therefore need not dwell on the proof; but the cause of it merits a particular investigation.

* See No. 486, 856, 1629, 1436, 1437, 1672, 1735, 2892.

That exhaustion of soil is not the result of good cultivation, is a fact well known ;—if this were the course of things, the earth would long ago have become barren and unproductive.

The population of England in 1750 was estimated at 6,467,000 ; from the year 1755 to 1770, the average exportations of wheat exceeded the average importations by a quantity only sufficient to supply the people, at the present estimated rate of consumption, for rather less than one week. Though the population has doubled, being by the last census, 13,089,538, such has been the improvement in agriculture, that we do not now, on the average, import more wheat than is needed to supply the consumption for three weeks. And if we allow for the improved habits of the people, the produce of this country must have been doubled. These improved habits are strikingly shown in the increased rate of consumption of sugar, it being now 50 per cent. more than in 1790. But what is the cause of deterioration in the West Indies, and improvement in this country ? It does not arise from any peculiarity in the cultivation of the cane. Wheat, oats, or barley, would exhaust the soils, if cultivated year after year without a change. The regular alternation of cattle and green crops, in many counties in England, whilst adding cattle to the productions of the soil, has, at the same time, greatly increased the produce of grain. No improvement in this respect is yet introduced into the Colonies ; instead of availing themselves of the means so evidently within their own power, the planters apply to the Legislature for relief, and have, time after time, obtained bounties and protections to bolster up their system.

Though we trust that enough has been said to convince any unprejudiced mind, that instead of slave trading giving to the Brazilians any advantages, it has been as destructive of their own property, as of the lives of the poor victims of their cupidity, and that, instead of its being the cause of the distress of the British planters, that distress would have been infinitely greater if their slave trade, like that of the British and the American, had been abolished in 1807, and the Brazilians had pursued the course the Americans are doing, yet the folly of all these allegations will be abundantly manifested by the account of the American slave system, which we are now about

to give; and where our statements in these respects are supported by the undeniable authority of facts on an immense scale, in the United States of America, the examination of which we shall introduce by inserting page 264 of No. 100, *Anti-slavery Reporter* :—

“The slave-trade ceased in the United States of America, and in the British West Indies, in the very same year, namely, 1808. The relative proportion of imported Africans, on which the West Indians lay so much stress as accounting for the decrease of their slaves notwithstanding the boasted lenity of their treatment, must, therefore, have been nearly the same in the two cases. But have the results been the same? In one of our late numbers (No. 97, p. 102) we have shown that, in 1808, the slave population of the United States must have amounted to about 1,130,000, and that of the British West Indies to about 800,000. In 1830, after an interval of 22 years, the slaves of the United States amounted, by actual census, to 2,010,436; being an increase of 880,436, or about 80 per cent in that time. It appears, from the preceding tables, that in or about the year 1829, the slaves in all the British West Indies did not exceed 696,441; and in 1830, therefore, could not have exceeded 695,000, being a decrease of at least 105,000 slaves in the same period of 22 years. Now, had the British slaves increased, during that time, at the same rate with the American slaves, their number, in 1830, instead of being only 695,000, would have been 1,423,317, making the enormous decrease, as compared with the progress of population in the United States, of 728,317, a waste of life exceeding by nearly 5 per cent. the number of the existing population. A similar result would be produced by a comparison of the progress of population among the slaves, with that of the free black and coloured classes, inhabiting the same colonies. Had they even increased at the rate of the Maroons in Jamaica, the least favourably circumstanced of those classes, the 695,000 slaves of the West Indies would have grown, in 1830, to 1,240,000, or if at the rate of the free classes in Trinidad, to 1,500,000.

“These facts constitute a charge against Colonial slavery which no sophistry can elude. After every deduction which the most elaborate ingenuity can suggest, it will remain under the stigma of being one of the heaviest curses which afflicts

humanity, and this indepently of the unnumbered political, moral, and spiritual evils which directly flow from it. And yet here are we, with our Government, and our Parliament, in this land of Christian light and liberty, coolly deliberating whether this curse, inflicted by ourselves on our fellow-subjects, shall be at once removed, or shall be permitted for months or years longer to oppress and desolate one of the fairest portions of the creation of God! How long shall we continue to endure this depressing load of conscious guilt?"

To this we may add, that the slave population of these States in 1820 was 1,531,431, hence there had been an increase in the last ten years of 479,005; if, instead of increasing, their population had decreased, as in the Brazils, at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum, that would have made 918,840, or together 1,397,840, to have been supplied by importation, which, at £50 each, would be £69,892,000. Now, the whole value of the cotton grown in these same ten years was only about £50,000,000. What, then, would have become of the American cotton growers, if they had followed the Brazilian system of supplying labourers? But, according to the West Indian estimates, their plan of breeding is still more expensive. To have supplied only the increase just mentioned at the rate of £226 14s. 10d., it would have cost more than 100 millions sterling, and nearly as much more to have supplied the place of those who had died. It is often said, that Virginia makes more by the breeding of slaves than by the growth of tobacco, though the price they obtain for children, is probably not much more than one-tenth of the price mentioned in this estimate. What would these American slave-breeders say to this?

But we now come to the proof of the whole affair. The Brazilians are slave-importers—the Americans are slave-breeders. Cotton is extensively grown in *both* countries. The planters reside on their estates in *both*, which are generally free from mortgage: the trade of the world is free to *both*, and neither of them enjoy bounties or protections. There is, therefore, perfectly fair play for the trial of the two systems. The point at issue, therefore, is, which of the two has succeeded best, remembering that the only difference between them is, slave importing and slave breeding. Commencing with the peace of 1814, when the slave trade was carried on with renewed

vigour, the Brazilians supplied this country with 128,472 bags of cotton, whilst the Americans little exceeded them in number of bags, being then only 165,046. But in the years 1827 to 1831, we find the American supply had increased to 556,307; being 337 per cent. whilst the Brazilian supply had only increased to 161,467 bags, or about 25 per cent.* The price of cotton† is reduced from 18½d. to 6½d. Which of the two countries has caused this reduction? They are on a par in every thing but *breeding and importing* slaves. After this proof, is it possible that we shall hear any more of the Brazilians underselling our Colonists, because they are allowed to import slaves?

We cannot leave this subject without calling attention to the important fact, that though the American cultivation of cotton by slavery, has almost wholly superseded its growth in our Colonies, and greatly checked its increase in the Brazils, yet the Carolinians themselves have been driven out of the cultivation of indigo, in consequence of its still cheaper production by free labour in the East Indies!

* Importation of cotton from the Brazils into Great Britain:—

1814..	150,930	1827..	120,111
1815..	91,055	1828..	167,362
1816..	123,450	1829..	159,536
1817..	114,518	1830..	191,163
1818..	162,479	1831..	168,880
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	½)642,362		½)807,357
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Average....	128,072		161,471

being an increase of 25 per cent.

Importation of cotton into Great Britain from the United States:—

1814..	48,853	1827..	646,776
1815..	203,031	1828..	444,390
1816..	166,077	1829..	463,076
1817..	199,669	1830..	618,527
1818..	201,580	1831..	608,767
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	½)825,230		½)2,761,536
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Average	165,046		556,307

† The price of American Upland cotton in

1815..	20½d.	1827..	6½d.
1816..	18½	1828..	6½
1817..	20	1829..	5½
1818..	20	1830..	6½
1819..	13½	1831..	5½
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	½)924		½)33½
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	18½		6½

The American slave system is superior to every other; and it is very important to know why they were induced to adopt it. Was this preference from any greater humanity on their part? By no means; they were driven to it by absolute necessity.

In the year 1791 the whole amount of the exports from Virginia and the states southward, was only about 56s. for every slave. No other circumstances were therefore needed to put an end to the slave trade; the poverty of the slave-owners was quite sufficient to effect it; and we find that the abolition of the African slave trade was general in the United States, as the act of particular states, prior to the year 1790. By the cultivation of cotton, however, the exports from South Carolina were increased in 1807 to the value of £12 10s. per slave; their ports were, in consequence, again opened to the importation of slaves from Africa, until the General Government finally abolished the trade in 1808, as early as, by the Constitution, it was empowered to do.

But perhaps there is not much to advance, even in this case, in favour of motives; for in 1821 the same Government which had previously, in 1808, interdicted the importation from Africa, opened a new market in the Missouri for the sale of slaves bred in its own states.

When the exports of the produce of slave labour in the southern states of America did not exceed 56s. per slave per annum, the value of the exports from Jamaica, say in 1807-8, amounted to 2,136,442,* or about £8 10s. per slave; hence Jamaica was enabled to continue the slave trade; and it has been estimated that† 188,785 were added by importation into this one island, between that period and its abolition in 1808.

Had necessity induced our planters to adopt the same plans, it is highly probable that by this time we should neither have had slave trade nor slavery, for nothing can be more obvious than that the value of any commodity depends on its plenty or scarcity, or on the proportion of supply to demand. Slaves, as property, are governed by the same rule; they are cheap or dear according to the quantity of

* See Brian Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. 1, page 287.

† Review of Registry Laws, page 74.

land for cultivation. An increase of population makes men cheap; so that when they become burdensome, as in this country, and parishes are willing to give money to get rid of them, slavery will cease, whether allowed by law or not, just on the same principle as there will be an end of the slave trade when profit can no longer be obtained by it.

The slave trade for the growth of indigo must long ago have ceased, and if there are still any slaves imported for the growth of cotton in the Brazils, they must be very few. We shall next endeavour to show that the West Indians need not have complained of the continuance of the slave trade, if they had made use of the means they had in their own power to destroy it. Had the slave population increased there since 1808 like the American, the numbers would have been 728,317 more than they now are, sufficient to have produced an increase of nearly 250,000 tons of sugar per annum; whilst the whole increase in the Brazils, Cuba, and the French islands, where slave trading has been continued, is only 115,000 tons.* Had the British Colonies grown 250,000 tons in addition, there can be no doubt that they would have superseded the increase by slave trading, as the Americans have done in the case of cotton. Under these circumstances, there can be doubt that the price of sugar would have fallen, as that of cotton has done, and probably in nearly the same proportion; and with the price of sugar, the price of slaves would have fallen, until they would not pay for importation: then, indeed, would there have been an end of the slave trade, by that irreversible law, which, in the nature of things, will force any man to abandon a losing trade.

What, then, are the prospects of the West India planters, supposing slavery should not be extinguished? It is perfectly clear that a Parliament representing the people, and attending to their interests, will never continue to burden them for the support of an old and exploded system, even if inhumanity were not attached to it; they will not continue to pay one million per year to raise the price of sugar to the British consumers, and more than another million for naval and military establishments to keep the slaves in subjection; and much less will they double this enormous tax-

* This estimate is founded on Trueman and Cooke's state of the commerce of Great Britain, for 1831.

ation, by raising the price of sugar 10s. per cwt., as proposed by some of the witnesses. On the contrary, there is little doubt that the duties on *sugar* from the East and West Indies will be equalized, and that British skill and capital will soon be employed in the improvement of its cultivation and manufacture, and that even the present price of sugar will not be maintained. The very rapid increase of the cultivation of sugar in the United States, is another almost equally astounding fact. The quantity produced has advanced in a few years to 45,000 tons per annum; and when we see that the growth of cotton has more than doubled in the last seven years, it will be acknowledged that the Americans are infinitely more formidable rivals than the slave-trading Brazilians; and should the latter be driven to adopt the American improvements—for they have no mother country to uphold their follies by bounties and protections—the maintenance of slavery in the British Colonies will then be utterly hopeless.

How are these already pressing, and still heavier impending evils to be remedied? The country should not forget that it has nursed the West Indians into these difficulties, and must help them out of them. They must be met by measures proportioned to their great magnitude, and worthy of a Government possessing the confidence of the country; and then the immediate advantage of all parties concerned may be at once secured:—1st, the slaves must be immediately emancipated, under such regulations as will secure their industrious habits and orderly conduct; 2nd, the planters must also be emancipated from the bondage of their debts, and be enabled to adopt and carry on the improvements with spirit, even if this should require a loan of a large amount; 3rd, the duties on West and East India sugar must be equalized, the bounty on the export of refined sugar must be given up, and refining in bond must be substituted. The duty on sugar should be reduced one-fourth, or 6s. per cwt. 4th, in order to secure the industrious habits of the negroes—and to give a value to the land, the negroes should be prevented from settling in the waste lands still belonging to Government.

To make the proposed loan effectual, the amount must be large. It is a notorious fact, that a very large proportion of the West India estates are mortgaged, and that in some cases the interest and commercial advantages will be 15 or 20 per

cent on the sum lent. There is little doubt that Government could borrow money and lend it to the West Indians 10 per cent. below what they are now paying for it; and it is not improbable that the mortgages may amount to £15,000,000, which, if lent 10 per cent. cheaper than it now costs, would be an advantage of £1,500,000 per annum. This loan of £15,000,000 might be divided amongst the planters, according to the value of the slaves in the different Colonies, being about two-fifths of their present value. If they are worth £20 in the Bahamas, the loan would be £8; if £50 in Jamaica, the loan would be £20; and if £80 in Demerara, the loan would be £32. This money would, of course, be lent upon the land and buildings on the condition of an immediate emancipation of the slaves.

It is proposed that the loan should be offered to all the planters, whether they are in debt or not, in proportion to the number of their slaves. The value of the slaves will be a correct criterion of the value of the security, as their price will be in proportion to the value and fertility of the soil.

It is expected that most of the planters would accept such loan upon the land and buildings in the Colonies, without involving the property they may have in this country. They will be thereby relieved from any unnecessary alarms about loss from emancipation, at least, so far as this loan goes.

The owners of jobbing gangs, who do not possess land, might be accommodated with a grant, and a loan upon it, on condition that the land should be improved, and brought into cultivation.

This loan might not extricate every planter. Some of their properties may be so far involved in debt, as to be beyond redemption; others, though not entirely freed from incumbrance, would find it so lightened, that they could make a far better bargain with a consignee: but it is hoped that by far the largest proportion would be entirely emancipated from all their trammels by the proposed loan.

There could be no risk whatever of the security, or even of the regular payment of interest, for the produce would be shipped to this country, or, in case of shipment to any other, the interest of the loan should first be paid at the colonial custom-house.

If equally satisfactory to the planters, the money might

be lent more liberally to those who are in debt, and nothing to those who do not need it; in such a case a much less sum would probably be called for.

Such a loan would obviate one of the great disadvantages of the British slave system, as compared with the Brazils and Cuba, the non-residence of the planters; and which admits of no remedy whilst slavery exists, without sacrifices that many of the proprietors would be very unwilling to make. When the slaves are emancipated, the estates, with the sugar mills, might be let to tenants, who would manage them with emancipated labourers, and pay a rent as English farmers do. The mere collection of rents for non-resident planters would be very simple, and would only cost a moderate commission upon the nett income, instead of a high rate on the gross produce. At present the charges of management to non-resident proprietors is very great. On the estate of 301 negroes, before referred to, the salaries and commissions were £609, or fully £2 per slave; this would make nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions; but we may very safely conclude that at least half a million per annum might be saved in this item. Few, if any, concerns can be successfully managed by agents, in the absence of the party interested, and least of all agricultural. Here the advantages of the presence of the planter, his having the unshackled management of his own concerns, and depending on that management alone for success, would be almost incalculable.

Under a proper system of culture, instead of deterioration of soil, and diminution of produce, as is now the case, the lands would improve, and an increase of crops would be the consequence. Before the general adoption of the present mode of alternating with green crops and cattle, the soils in some parts of England were deteriorating, and would no doubt have been still more impoverished, if a bounty had been given to them to grow corn year after year, as has been done in the case of sugar in the Colonies; but our farmers were left to themselves; in consequence of which their system is improved; they have not only produced vast numbers of cattle, but they have grown more corn than ever. There can, therefore, be no doubt that if the same plan were introduced in our sugar Colonies, we should soon have in many of them an increase of 50 per cent. in the growth of sugar, with little or no additional expense, and more powerful and effective

labourers from the use of animal food. The absurdity of the present system, and mismanagement under it, are almost incredible. In the expenditure of the before-mentioned estate, live stock, mules, and cattle are charged £657 sterling, many of these must have been cows or oxen, and yet we find no credit given for the sale of any of them, but, on the contrary, the account is debited £149 for fresh beef.* On these two points there is abundant room for improved management.

The plough ought to be generally introduced; but, as is natural, the planters do not admit that any further improvements could be made in their practice; it would be strange if, when seeking help from the Legislature, they should admit they had not done all they could for themselves. It may be said that we are meddling with things we do not understand; our reply to this is, the planters want our money to compensate for their own neglect; that it is strictly our business to look to that, and more especially when they have manifested such consummate ignorance of their own concerns as to suppose it would cost them £226 14s. 10d. to raise a child to fourteen years, and that it was cheaper to import than to breed slaves. Slavery, the source of all these evils, is the great hindrance to the use of the plough. If our farmers could not obtain extra hands in crop time, they would be obliged to keep on their own farms an additional number, whom they must employ all the year round. Now, this is precisely the situation of the planters, and therefore a saving of labour at other times of the year is of very little importance; but let the labourers be made free, let the plough be introduced wherever it is practicable, and they may reduce more than one half their labourers, except in crop time. The men set at liberty from the sugar planting, might rent lands from the proprietor, for the cultivation of cotton or coffee, or any other articles of which the crop is not gathered at the same time as sugar; they could then assist in the sugar crop, and their wages would assist them to pay their rents. This, amongst many others, would be the obvious advantage of emancipation, but the exact extent cannot be easily ascertained.

By giving up the bounty, the country would gain about one million sterling per annum, though, as before shown, the

* See Report of the Committee on the Trade with the West India Colonies, page 24, ordered to be printed 24th July, 1807.

planters would not lose more than one half, say £500,000 per annum. But the removal of this absurd system would reduce the price of sugar to the consumer 5s. per cwt.; and if the duty were lowered 6s. it would make together a reduction of 11s. per cwt.; and reduce the average cost of sugar below 4d. per lb.: this would occasion such an increase of consumption as must raise the price, and it is difficult to say how this 11s. would be divided between the public and the planters; it is very probable that, of such a reduction, the latter would gain 5s. per cwt. or about one million sterling. By such a bold and liberal measure the interest of the planters would be placed upon a firm and permanent foundation.

The negroes should not be allowed to settle on the waste lands, except on such terms as will give a preference to the lands of the planters, but which, at the same time, should be so moderate as to keep in check any exorbitant demands for rent on their part.

The slave population of our Colonies, as has been shown in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 100, is decreasing at the rate of nearly 5000 per annum, when it ought to have increased at the rate of more than 15,000 per annum, making a difference of 20,000, and being a loss, at £50 each, of one million per annum. This could be easily saved by better treatment. When emancipated, they will no longer be the property of the master; but it may be shown that, as landowners, their property will be more increased by an addition to the free population than if the same persons were held in slavery.

In case of emancipation, there will be 20,000 more people annually than in their present state. These must have a subsistence; and as they cannot obtain land without rent, they must either pay for it, or hire themselves to some master, who will employ them in its cultivation. In this country there is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land for every individual; and if these Colonists (being almost wholly employed in agriculture) are the means of bringing into cultivation 50,000 acres of land, at a rent of 20s. per acre, the land thus annually brought into cultivation, valued at twenty years' purchase, would be worth one million sterling *

Besides all these permanent advantages, there would probably be a large temporary profit from a reduction in the

* The rent of land occupied by free settlers in Jamaica, is £2 per acre.—See J. B. Wilmau's evidence, *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, p. 150.

cultivation of sugar, the growth of which might, for a few years, be brought below the increased consumption of the country, the present growth being 30,000 to 40,000 tons per annum above it. Two motives which now operate on the growth of sugar would not then exist,—the bargain with the mortgagee and the bounty. If the growth should be reduced only 20,000 tons, or to about 180,000 tons per annum, an advance of 6s. per cwt., which would not raise it above its present price, would be very probable, and would add to the profits of the planters £1,080,000 per annum. To give such a temporary advance of price, in order to introduce the cultivation by free labour in the West, and improve and extend it in the East, would very soon be repaid by more abundant supplies, and lower prices.

Recapitulation of the advantages to the planters :—

The loan, 15 millions at 10 per cent. less than is now paid.....	£ 1,500,000
Saving in agency commissions in the Colonies, &c. . .	500,000
Advance of price from increased consumption.....	1,000,000
From improved cultivation a large profit might be anticipated if it should add only one-fifth to the crop of sugar it would make one million. The increased revenue from land brought annually into cultivation has been estimated at one million, but as neither admit of any great accuracy we will put down for both.....	1,000,000
The advantage of free trade is in part included in the preceding estimates of advantage from the loan, and deduction from the bounty.....	—
By the general abolition of bounties and protections the West India Interest would gain materially in the case of their sugar and molasses in the breweries and distilleries, and in the duty on rum	—
Total advantage	4,000,000
Deduct loss by giving up the bounty.....	500,000
	3,500,000
Temporary	1,080,000
	<u>£4,580,000</u>

Most of the preceding advantages are of a nature which does not admit of very accurate estimation, but we trust enough has been proved to show that the planters may obtain, by emancipation, more than the most sanguine of the witnesses

sought for, by an increase of the bounty of 10s. per cwt. The maintenance of the system in that way would have cost the country more than four millions per annum; whilst, on the contrary, this plan will probably save to the country more than one million sterling annually, in the price of sugar.

When the preceding statements have been well considered, together with the more recent evidence analyzed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, of the fitness of the slaves for immediate emancipation, and of their great willingness to work when an inducement is offered to them, we trust that the planters will have no cause to be alarmed on account of apprehended loss, nor the people on account of any compensation to be paid by the country. What compensation indeed could be due, where there is confessedly now no profit, though the system is at this time maintained at an unwarrantable expense to the country? But we have gone beyond the demands of the planters; we have not only appropriated a sum for their compensation, if they should make out a fair claim to it, but we have already placed that sum in their hands!!

Extract from Admiral Fleming's evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons on the extinction of slavery. —See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 104, page 380.

The Admiral had been more in Cuba, and knew more of it than of Jamaica. *The number of free people there is very great.* The whites are about 380,000, the free coloured 136,000 to 150,000, the slaves 200,000 to 220,000; this he drew from public documents; but the returns are somewhat confused. They are made up by the priests in different parishes. The free people generally are in good condition in Cuba; many of the browns and of the blacks too, are very rich. He had never heard in Cuba of any complaints of a want of industry in the freed classes. A great many of them are employed in cultivating sugar in Cuba. Even some whites work in the field in Cuba who come from the Canaries, and manage all the indigo culture. He had himself seen the free people digging cane holes, and some of them work their whole

estates without slaves, growing the canes, and selling them to persons who boil the juice. He could not tell how many were so employed in Cuba; the number was considerable; *and when they were deficient in hands at any time on sugar plantations, they hired additional labourers, at two pisettas, or 1s. 8d. to half a dollar a day, sometimes more, usually paid in coin, but sometimes in goods.*

Thus we see it is not the importation of slaves, but the number of free labourers, which gives the Cubans the advantage. We have not found any accurate census of Brazil. In Walsh's Notices it is stated, vol. 1, p. 462, that in 1811 an incorrect census was taken of the whole country, when the inhabitants were said to amount to three millions. In Rio, about one-third of the population were slaves.